

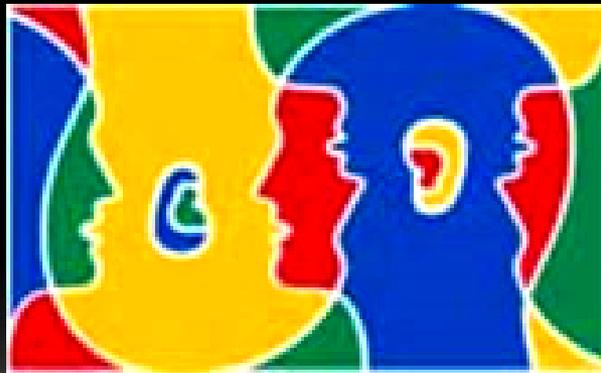
THE DYNAMICS OF LANGUAGE IN PUERTO RICO

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INTRODUCTION

Despite a long-standing governmental designation of Spanish and English as co-official languages, bilingualism in Puerto Rico is a concept fraught with conflict.

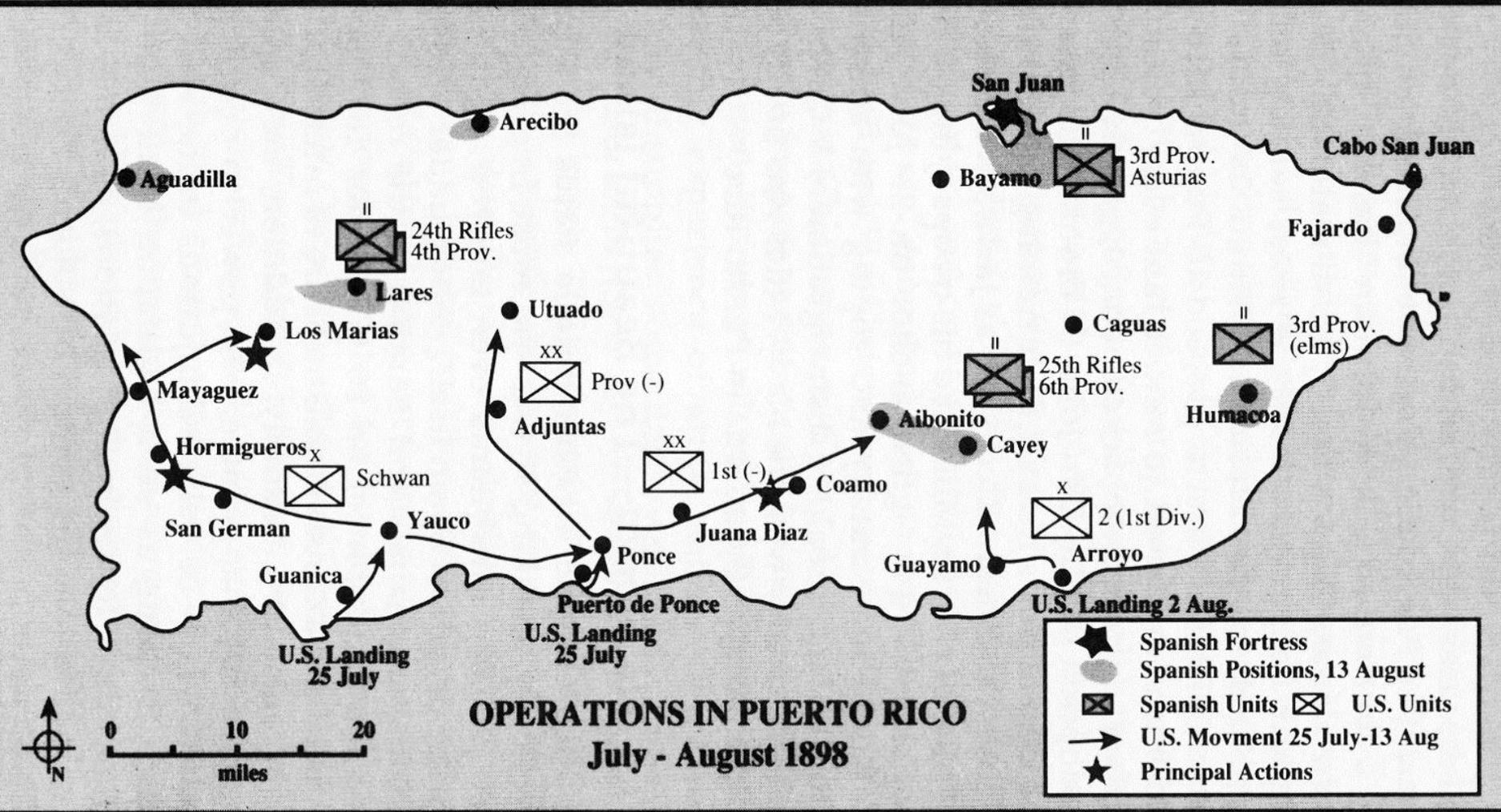


There are certainly many bilingual individuals, especially in academia, the professions, the tourist industry, and the world of business. However, Puerto Rico is not a bilingual society.

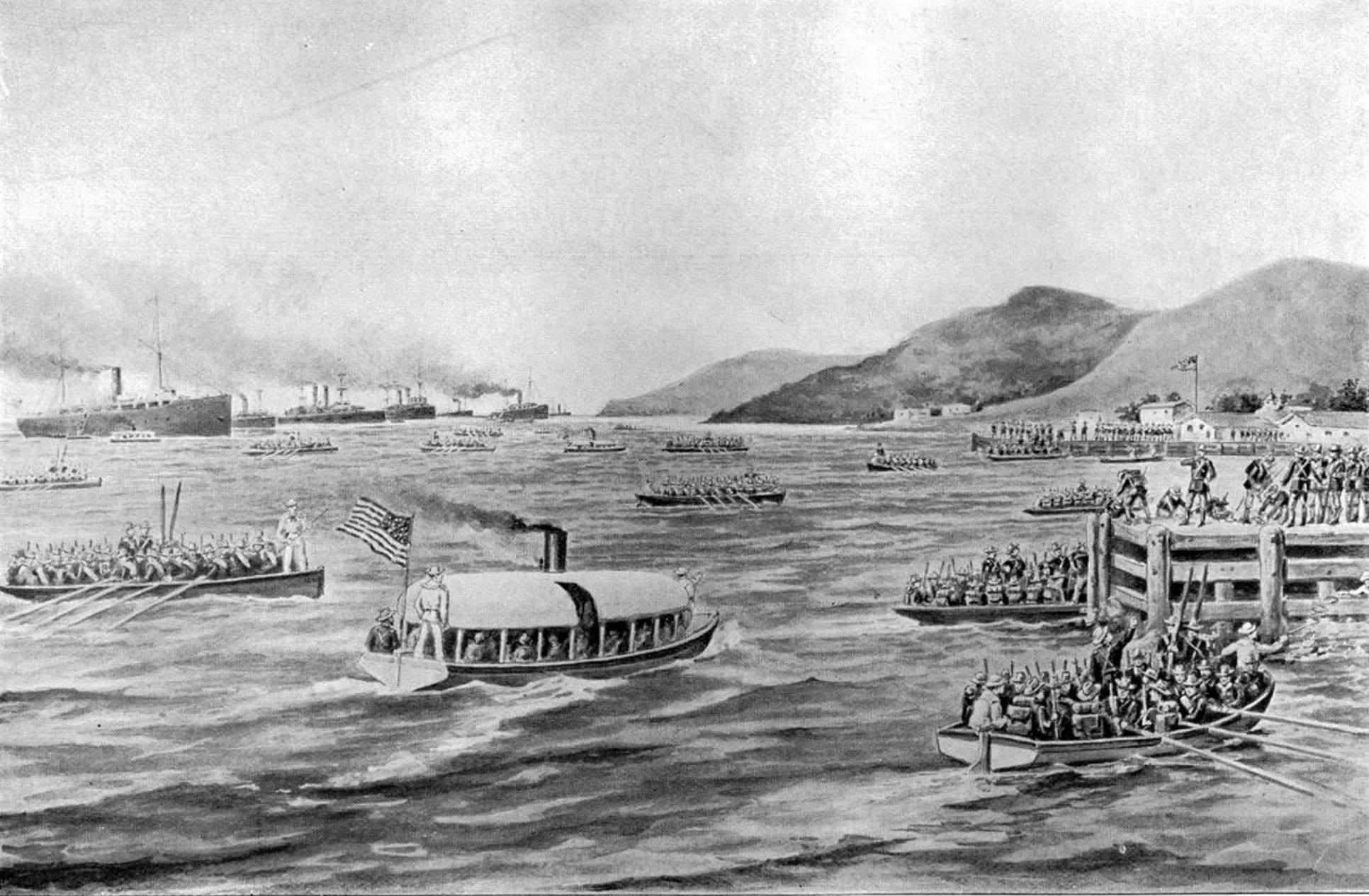
We need to keep in mind the basic differences between **individual bilingualism** and **societal bilingualism**.

Although the English language arrived in Puerto Rico at least a hundred years before the U.S. invasion of 1898, it will forever be remembered as one of the major tools of the subsequent Americanization effort.

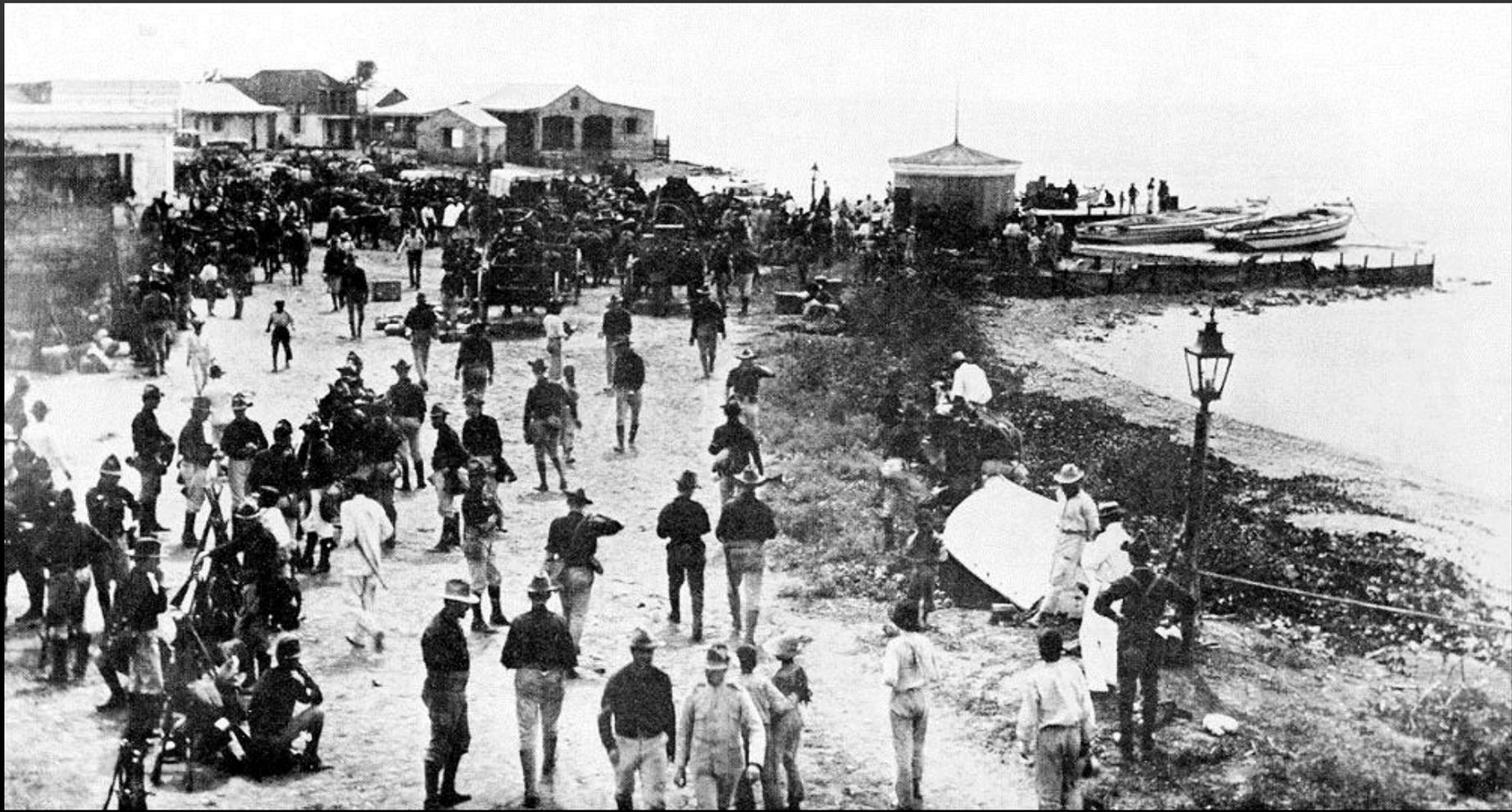




U.S. operations in Puerto Rico, 1898



THE INVASION OF PORTO RICO—LANDING OF THE ARMY COMMANDED BY GENERAL MILES, AT GUANICA,
JULY 25, 1898.



U.S. troops in Arroyo, PR. 1898

**U.S. 1st Kentucky
Volunteers in
Puerto Rico, 1898**



**American
troops
entering
Ponce, 1898**



The American forces who occupied Puerto Rico after the Spanish American War were portrayed in the U.S. press as great liberators bringing peace and freedom from Spanish oppression to the Puerto Rican people.



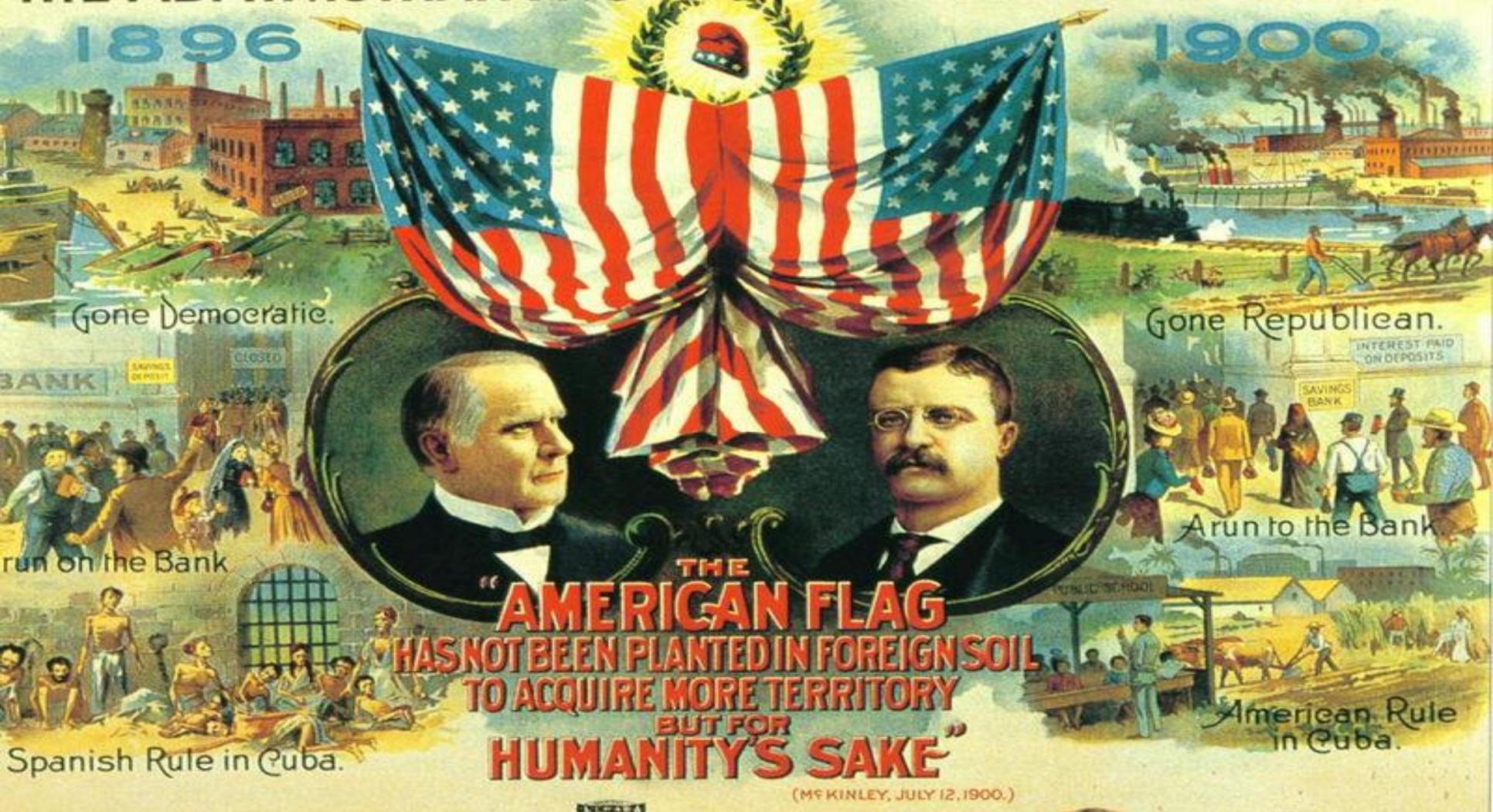


The Goddess of Liberty heralds the day of Freedom for Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines.

THE ADMINISTRATION'S PROMISES HAVE BEEN KEPT

1896

1900



Gone Democratic.

Gone Republican.

run on the Bank

Arun to the Bank

Spanish Rule in Cuba.

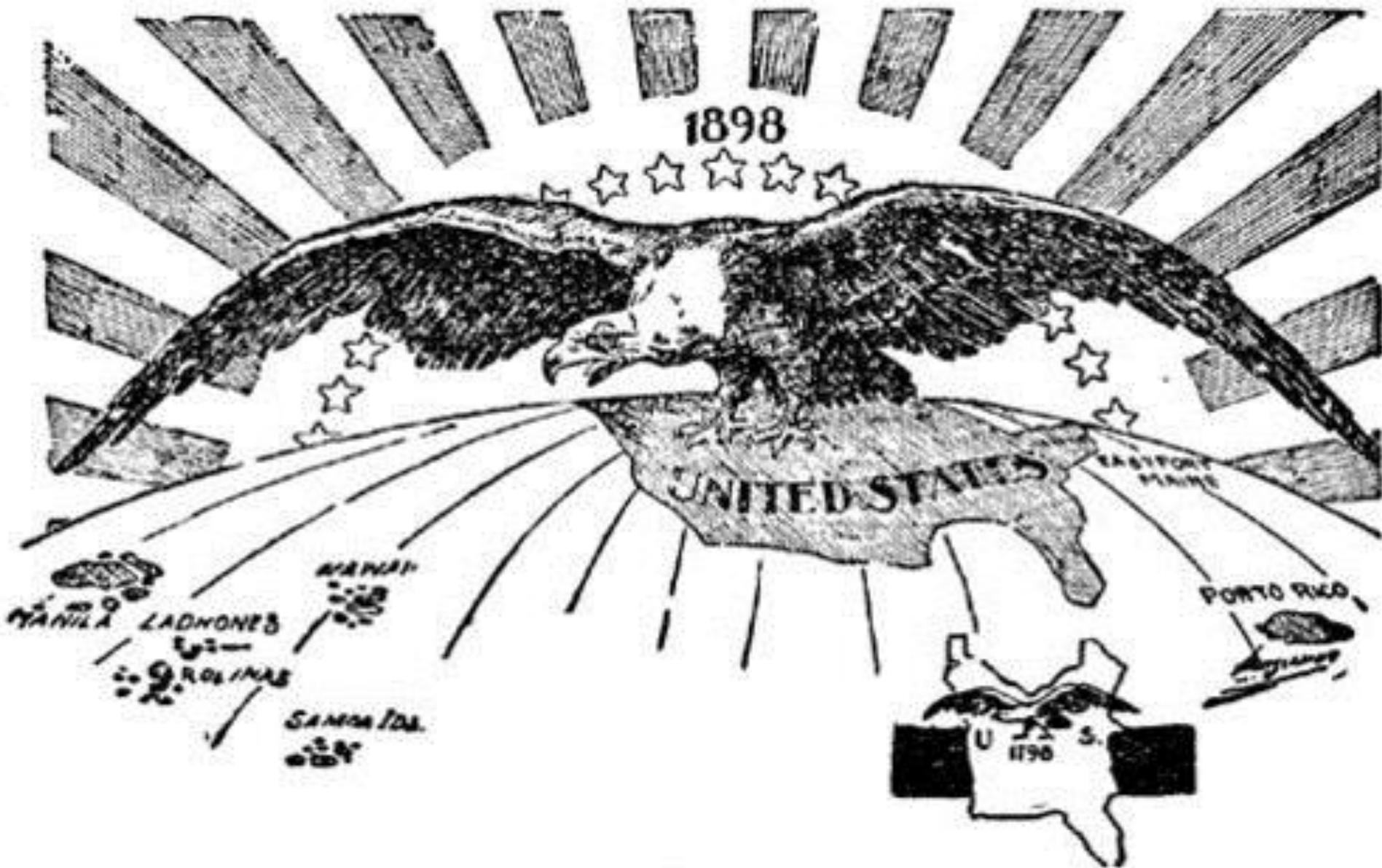
American Rule in Cuba.

THE AMERICAN FLAG
HAS NOT BEEN PLANTED IN FOREIGN SOIL
TO ACQUIRE MORE TERRITORY
BUT FOR HUMANITY'S SAKE

(McKINLEY, JULY 12, 1900.)

Propaganda from administration of U.S. President John McKinley & Vice Pres. Theodore Roosevelt ¹²





Ten thousand miles from tip to tip.—Philadelphia Press.

- The English language was seen as key to civilizing the people and making them understand the concepts of democracy.
- English as a medium of instruction was intended to make Puerto Ricans loyal to U.S. interests and ideologies.
- The Spanish vernacular was dismissed as a “patois”.



President of the Insular Board of Education Victor S. Clark sized up his new clientele in Puerto Rico in the following manner:

“The great mass of Puerto Ricans are as yet passive and plastic . . . Their ideals are in our hands to create and mold.”
(Morris, 1995, p. 26).



The Puerto Rico Plan

- American teachers were brought to Puerto Rico to teach English.
- The learning of English by all island teachers was made mandatory.
- English-speaking teachers were given preferential hiring.
- All high school and normal school candidates were examined in English.

- Language instruction focused upon the implanting of U.S teaching practices, holidays, and cultural values.
- The 1902 Official Languages Act made Spanish and English co-official languages of Puerto Rico.



PR language policies (1898-present)

1898--Puerto Rico ceded to U.S. under Treaty of Paris--military government and English as medium of instruction at all levels

1900--Foraker Act installed civil administration with governor and commissioner of education appointed by U.S.

**1902—Official Languages Act passed—
made English & Spanish co-official**

**1917--Jones Act declared Puerto Ricans to
be U.S. citizens (although unable to vote
for own governor or for U.S. president)**

1917-1934--Spanish as medium of instruction in grades 1-8; English as medium of instruction in grades 9-12.

1934-1942--Spanish as medium of instruction in grades 1-2 with English as subject in grades 3- 8, Spanish and English with increasing emphasis on English in high school, English as medium of instruction with Spanish as subject.

1945-46--bills proposing Spanish as sole medium of instruction passed by Puerto Rican legislature but vetoed by President Truman.

1947--Puerto Ricans given right to elect own governor

**1948--Luis Muñoz Marín elected governor--
appointed Villaronga as Commissioner of
Education**

**1949-pres.--Spanish as medium of
instruction at all levels with English as
mandatory subject**

1991--Official Languages Act revoked and Spanish declared sole official language of Puerto Rico

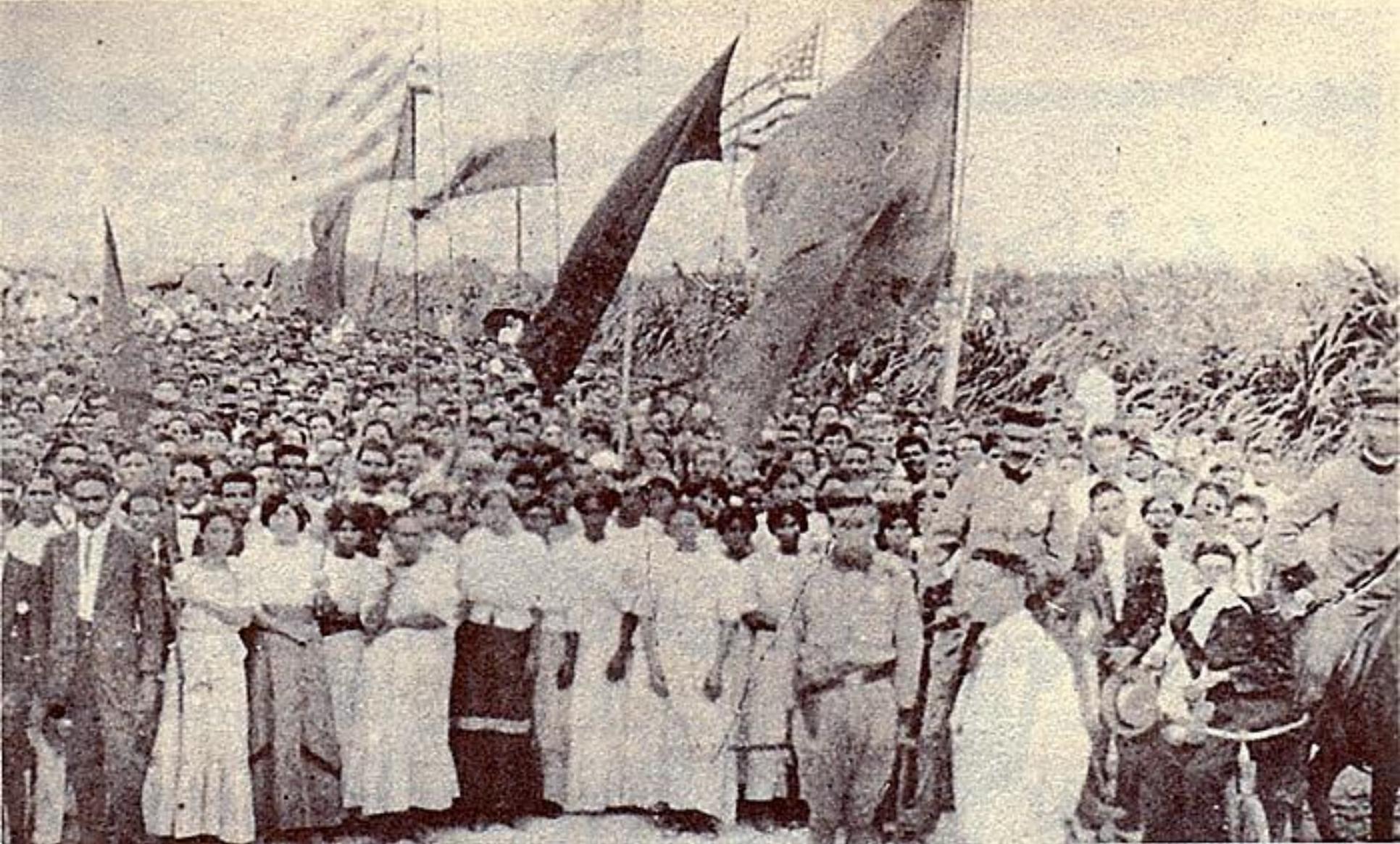
1993--Official Languages Act reinstated-- Spanish and English returned as co-official languages of Puerto Rico



- The Puerto Rican people resisted repeatedly in various ways, from outright rebellion to obstinate foot dragging.
- In 1912, the Asociación de Maestros de Puerto Rico (AMPR or Teachers Association) was founded. One of its main objectives was to establish Spanish as the instructional medium.

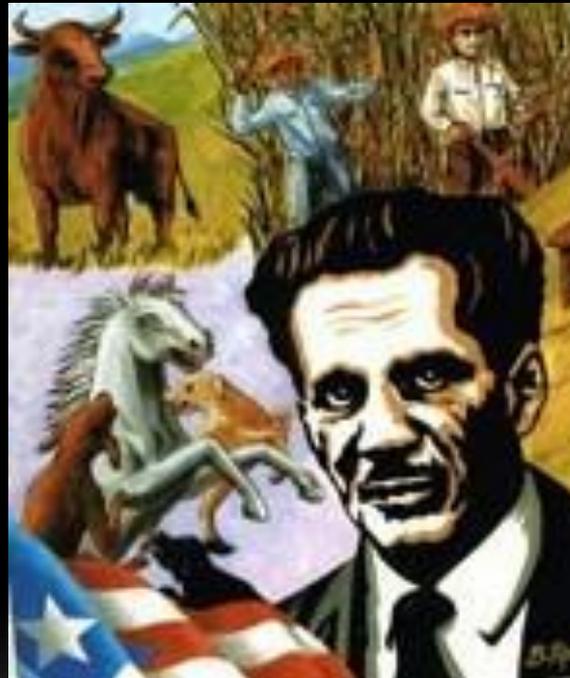
- The AMPR marched in countless rallies throughout the first half of the 20th century and lobbied in the Puerto Rican legislature for a change in the language policy.





1930s rally

Abelardo Díaz Alfaro's 1947 short story "Peyo Mercé enseña inglés" ridiculed the efforts made to impose English upon the Puerto Rican people.



- It was only after 1948, when Luis Muñoz Marín became the first Puerto Rican elected as governor, that Spanish took its rightful place as the medium of instruction at all levels, with English as a mandatory subject.
- This is the language policy currently in place in the Department of Education of Puerto Rico.



ATTITUDES TOWARD ENGLISH

English in PR is positively viewed as:

- useful in the modern globalized world;
- necessary for upward mobility
- an enhancement of the repertoire of the individual.

English in PR is negatively viewed as:

- a symbol of the island's rather schizophrenic relationship with the US
 - the potential usurper of Spanish and Puerto Rican culture at the societal level.
-

Nationalistic pride is very prominent in Puerto Rico. No matter what their views regarding the appropriate relationship to the United States may be, Puerto Ricans highly value their local language and culture and do not wish to give it up.





There is a strong concern, especially among intellectuals (ironically, those who have the most mastery of English) that the rising use of English in Puerto Rico represents a threat to the stability of the vernacular Spanish.



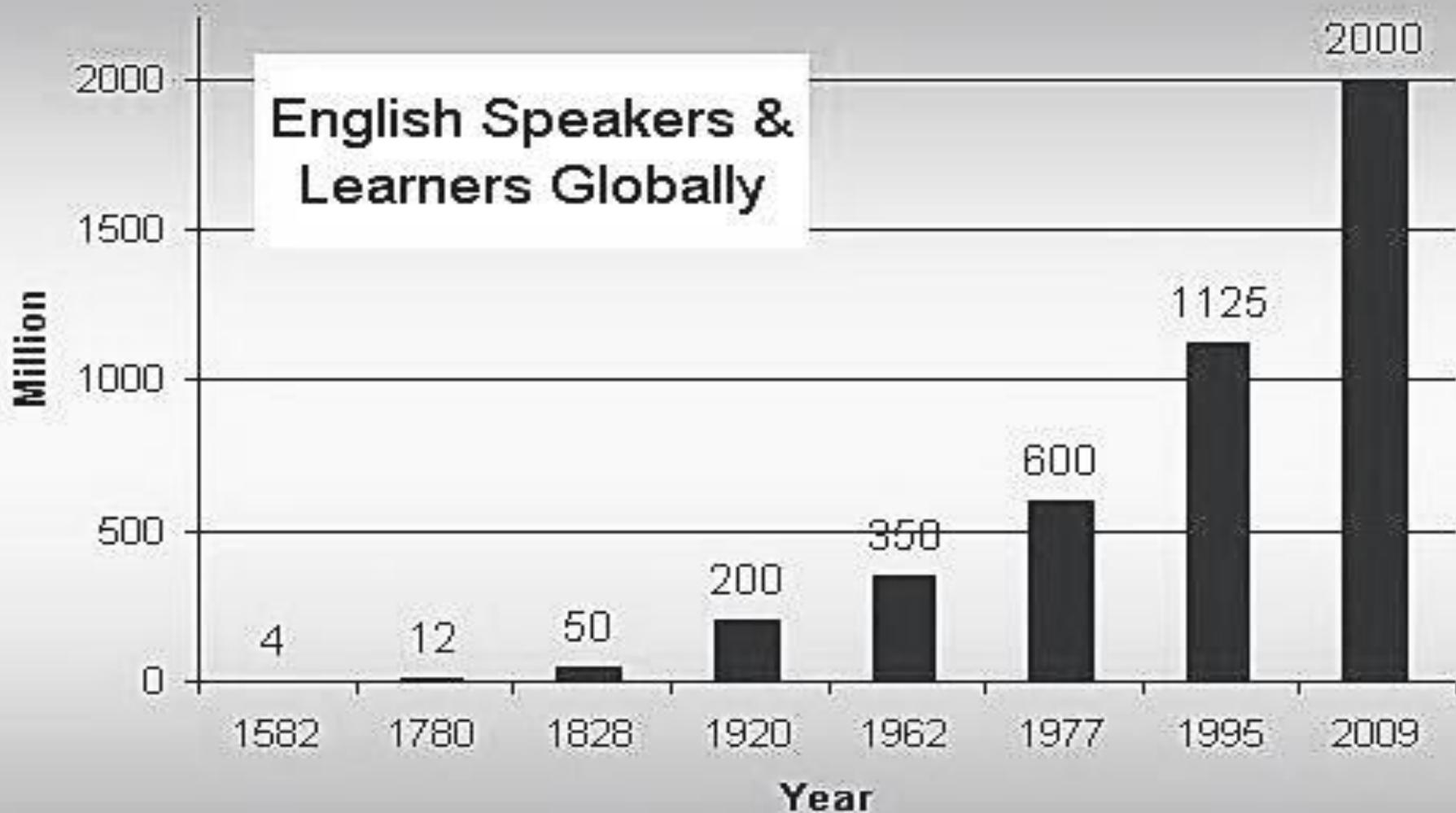
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Informe sobre el IDIOMA en Puerto Rico



Comisión de Educación, Ciencia y Cultura del Senado de Puerto Rico



<http://www.onlinedegreereviews.org/college/liberty-university-reviews/reviews/>

The flip side of the passionate defense of Spanish by academics is the paralyzing fear of English among less privileged sectors of the Puerto Rican population, as expressed in a popular advertisement for a private English institute on the island:

¿MIEDO AL INGLÉS?

NESOL

Language In

787-72

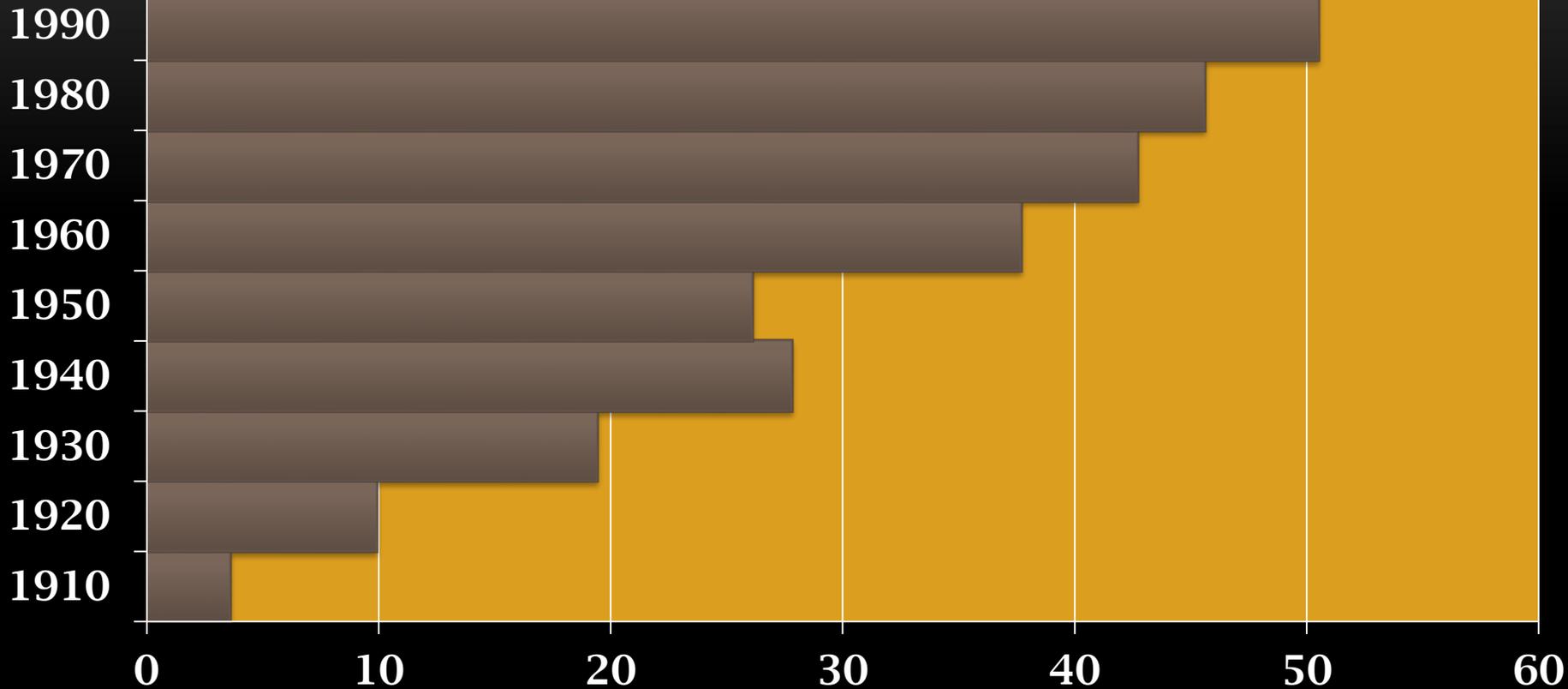


- The Spanish Language Academy in Puerto Rico has taken the position that the best course is to follow the UNESCO guidelines which establish the vernacular as the best language for initial literacy and schooling.
- Additional languages can be incorporated afterwards without harm to the solid foundation of the vernacular.



ENGLISH PROFICIENCY IN PUERTO RICO

Despite initial protests, over time, the English proficiency of the Puerto Rican people has increased steadily, although mastery is far from complete for a great many students in the public schools.



Percentage of Puerto Rican population aged 10 or older that speaks English to some degree, 1910-1990

(US Bureau of the Census figures reported in Torres Gonzalez, 2002, p. 152)

In the 2000 Census, 82.4% of Puerto Ricans over the age of 18 claimed to speak English “less than very well.” This means that only 17.6% considered that they spoke English “very well.”



In the San Juan metro area, 20-42% of respondents reported speaking English “very well”.





Outside of the metro area, the great majority of municipalities had only 10-14% of the adults reporting that they spoke English “very well,” and in the mountainous interior of the island, the level was only 0-9%.

ENGLISH PRESENCE IN PR

- newspapers
- magazines
- radio stations
- cable TV
- street and product names
- commercial signs



Sears

K
kmart

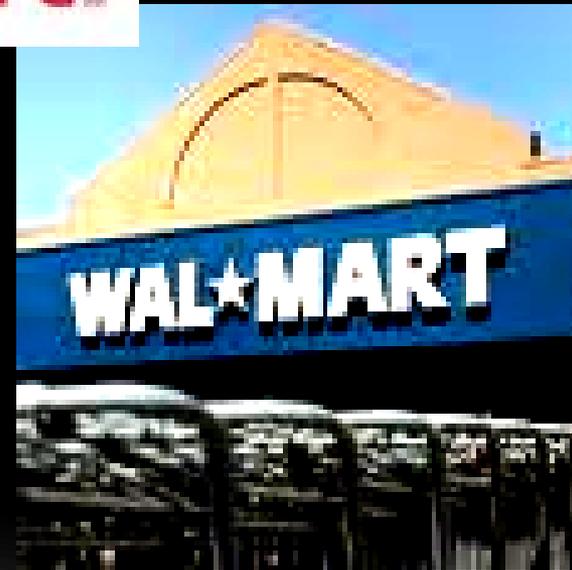


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- professional reports in English (e.g. doctors, accountants, lawyers, architects, etc.)





January 10, 2012

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EL CONCEPTO CINEMA CAFÉ QUE TANTO HAS DISFRUTADO EN HATO REY, AHORA LLEGA A MIRAMAR CON LA REAPERTURA DE FINE ARTS CINEMA CAFÉ AT MIRAMAR.

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GO

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17k

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THEATERS ▾

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New This Week

Coming Soon

Opera

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Directions

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PLAZA ESCORIAL

SHOWTIMES



ALVIN

Alvin and the Chipmunks: Chipwrecked

Spanish Version

CARIBBEAN CINEMAS

FINE ARTS

CINEMA CAFÉ



AT MIRAMAR

¡ABIERTO YA!

SEIS SALAS

ENGLISH IN EDUCATION

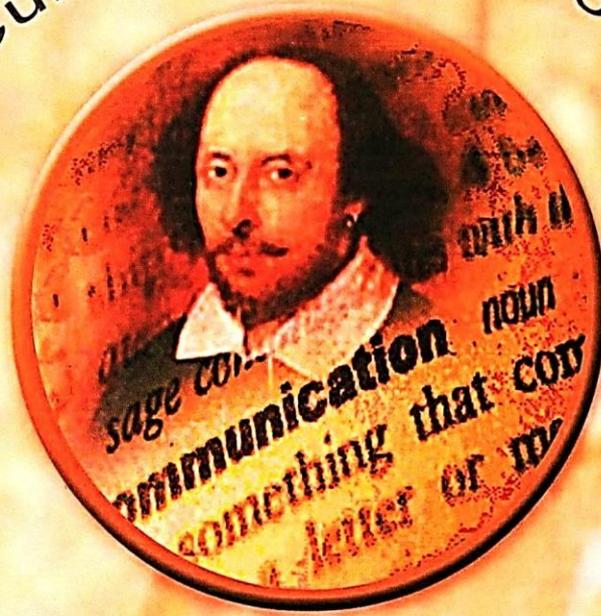


- Required subject from kindergarten until university in both public and private schools.
- Some bilingual and English-only schools
- Countless commercial institutes dedicated to English teaching



Instituto Nacional para el Desarrollo Curricular

Curricular Framework



English Program



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Preferential use of Spanish and English

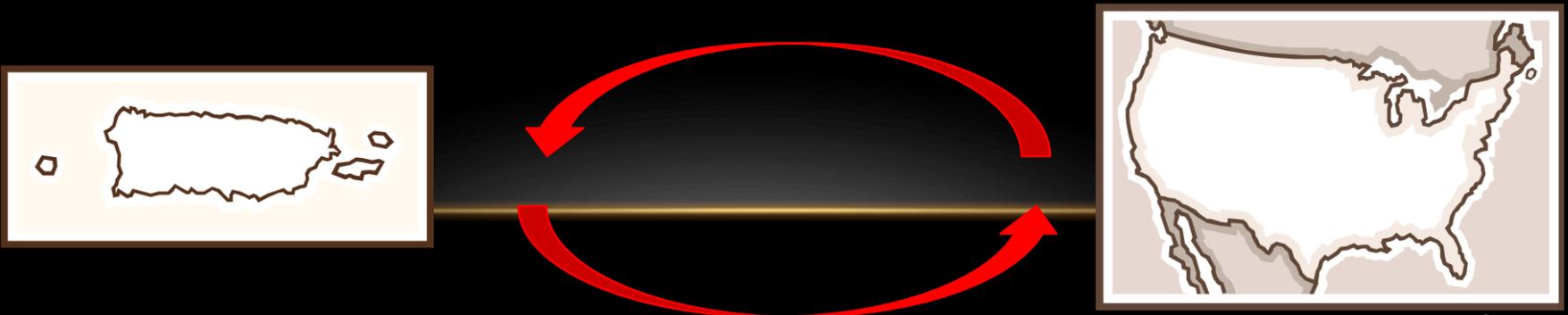
in different communicative contexts in Puerto Rico, 1992

		Spanish	English
Home & friends	Speaking with family	97.2	2.0
	Speaking with friends	95.0	4.0
Community	Getting service in stores	96.8	2.3
	Public speaking	98.3	1.3
	Speaking at work	91.9	3.4
	Religious services	97.0	1.7
	Speaking with doctor	97.3	2.2
Reading	Newspapers	90.6	7.9
	Books	87.3	11.0
	Legal documents	94.5	4.3
	Puerto Rico laws	95.1	3.4
	Work applications	92.6	5.2
Writing	Work documents	90.2	5.4
	letters	94.1	4.6
Media	Listening to news	90.6	7.9
	Watching TV	78.4	18.4

**Adapted from data presented in:
Hispania Research Corporation (1992, 1993)**

CIRCULAR MIGRATION

- A crucial source of English in Puerto Rico is the constant migratory flow between U.S. and PR.
- Thousands of PRs relocate to States for periods of time, learn English, and return to occupy positions which require using English regularly.



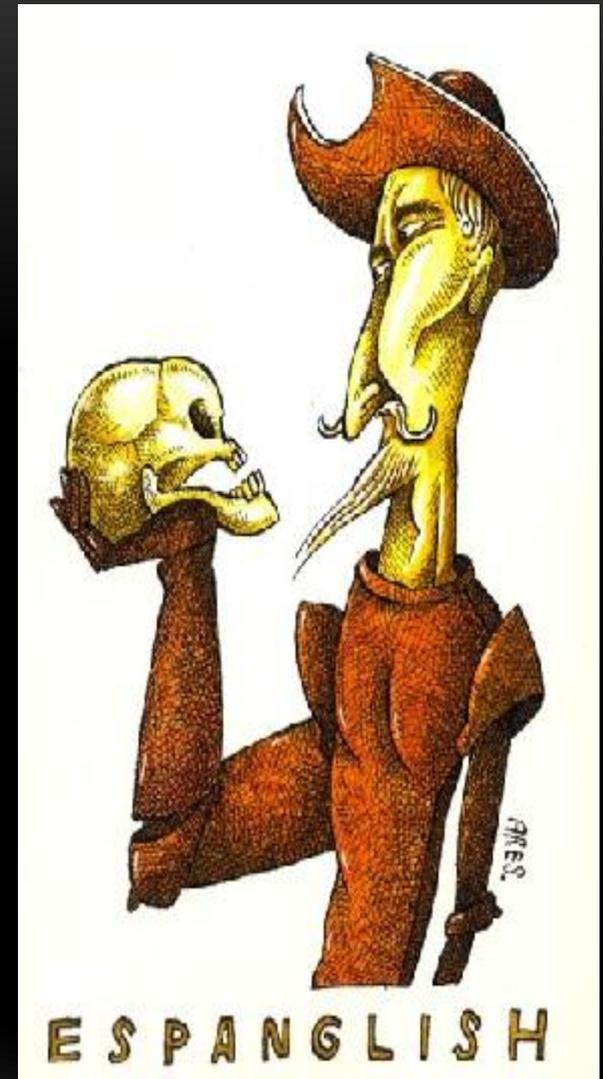
CROSSLINGUISTIC INTERACTIONS



When speakers of one language are in contact with another language, particularly if that other language is spoken by a politically or economically dominant group, it is completely natural for there to be cross-linguistic influences.

Bilinguals often mix elements of one language into another, creating new and innovative forms.

Puerto Ricans are known among Hispanics for their tendency to incorporate English into their Spanish.



- Regardless of the language proficiency of the speakers, English loanwords, phonologically and morphologically integrated into Puerto Rican Spanish, are an intrinsic part of the local lexicon.
- Being communicatively competent in Puerto Rico includes knowing how to use Anglicisms while speaking Spanish.

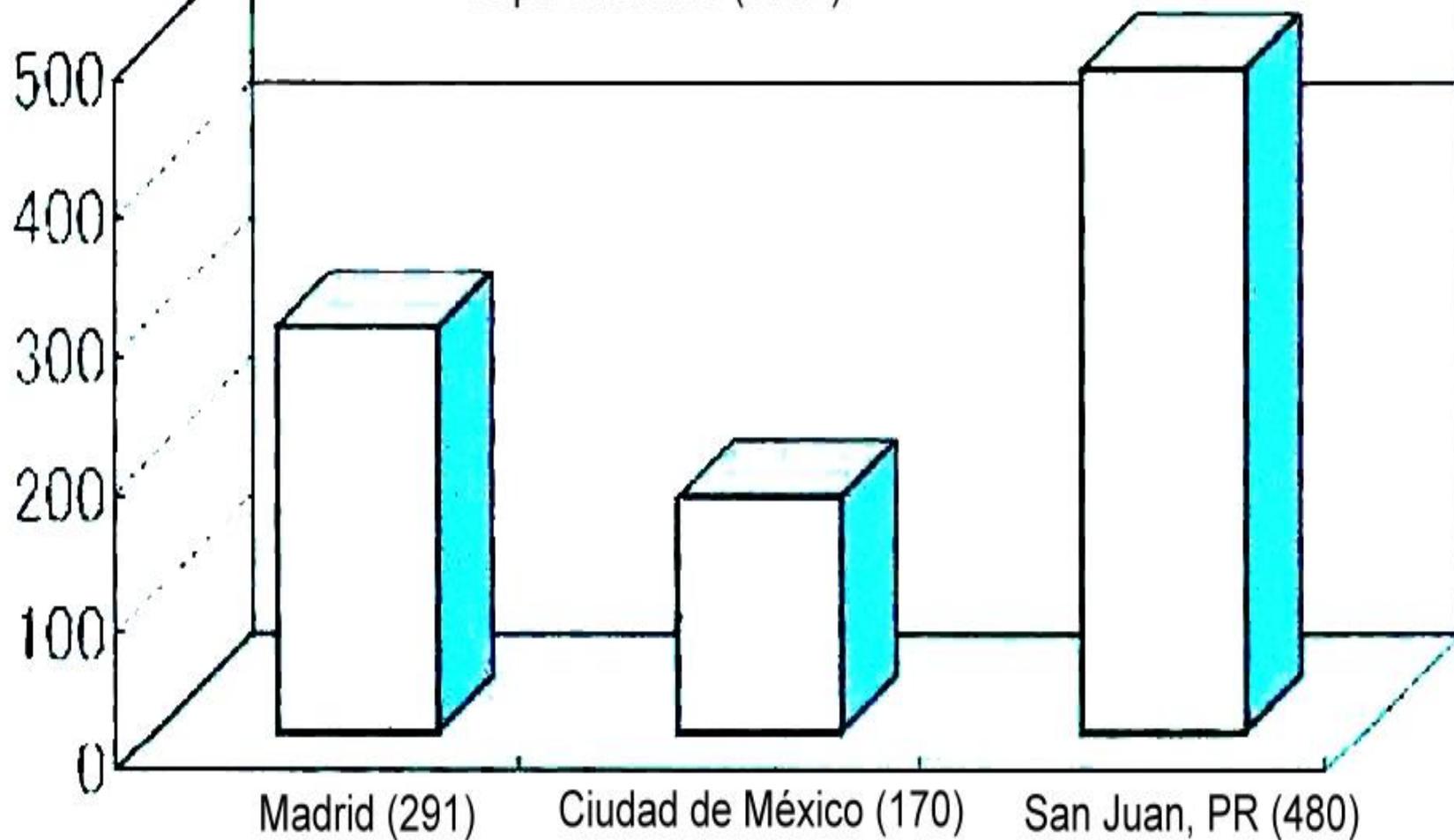
It should be noted that this is a global trend and is seen in virtually all Spanish-speaking countries to some extent.

In 1992, Linguist Humberto López Morales carried out a comparative study of the use of Anglicisms in Madrid, Mexico City, and San Juan, PR.

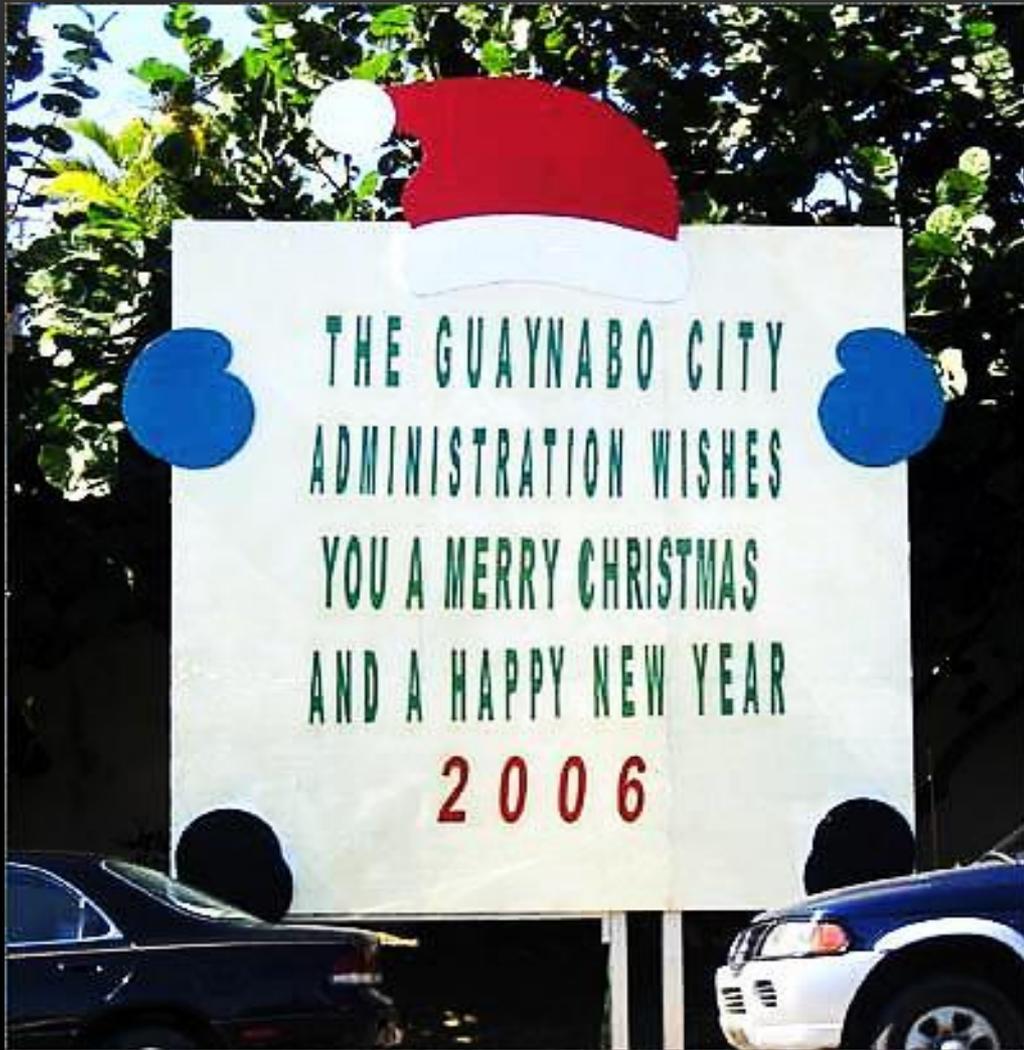


Number of Anglicisms (N=4,452 words)

Lopez Morales (1992)







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LIGHT**
BEER

*Brewed with the finest
ingredients for*

**BUD
LIGHT**
BEER



INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH ON PR SPANISH

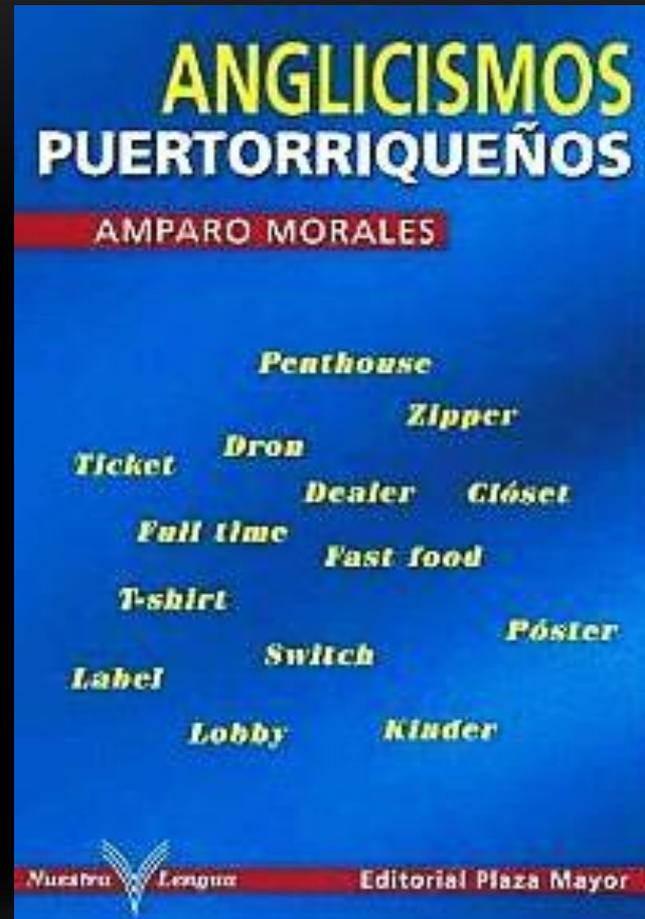


- Anglicisms are most common among doctors, lawyers, engineers, media and least common among teachers
- People involved in auto mechanics, sports, fashion /beauty, and computer technology are highly prone to using loanwords.



DICCIONARIO DE ANGLICISMOS EN PUERTO RICO

Morales
(2001)





No puedo acceder el Internet desde mi hogar. (I can't access the Internet from my home.)

Standard Spanish: *No puedo acceder a la Red desde mi hogar.*

Necesito salvar los datos antes de apagar la computadora. (I need to save the data before turning off the computer.

Standard Spanish: Necesito guardar los datos antes de apagar la computadora.



ANGLICISMS IN SAN JUAN PRESS

1) Creating a Spanish-looking word based on an English word form instead of its Spanish equivalent, for example, *coincidentalmente* instead of *de forma coincidente*.

María Vaquero (1990)



2) Using Spanish words with English meanings

e.g., *bloques* [building blocks] for “street blocks” instead of *cuadras*



**LA LEY 30 DEL 16 DE MAYO
DE 1972 PROHIBE LA
PENETRACION Y PERMANENCIA
DE PERSONAS EXTRAÑAS EN
LOS EDIFICIOS Y/O TERRENOS
DE ESTA ESCUELA
SIN PREVIA AUTORIZACION**

In this street sign, the phrase “*personas extrañas*” [literally “strange people”] was used instead of “*personas desconocidas*” [“unknown people”] or “*extraños*” [“strangers”].

3) Loan translation: translating literally from English into Spanish

e.g., hacer sentido to mean “make sense” instead of Standard Spanish *tener sentido* (literally “to have sense”)



4) Use of English word for specific aspect of meaning of particular referent (*e.g.*, *magacín* for popular magazines and *revista* for news magazines and journals).



SYNTACTIC INFLUENCES IN PR

Lipski (1996: 358)

- *¿Cómo te gustó la playa?* [How did you like the beach?] instead of Standard Spanish: *¿Qué tal te gustó la playa?* Or: *¿Te gustó la playa?*



El problema está siendo considerado. [The problem is being considered.] instead of Standard Spanish: *Se está considerando el problema.*



Te llamo para atrás. [I'll call you back.]
instead of Standard Spanish: *Te devuelvo la llamada* (literally “I'll return your call”).



Él sabe cómo hablar inglés. [He knows how to speak English.] instead of Standard Spanish: *Sabe hablar inglés.*



- *La guagua está supuesta llegar a las 11:15.* [The bus is supposed to arrive at 11:15.]
- Standard Spanish: *Se supone que la guagua llegue a las 11:15.*



SYNTACTIC INFLUENCES

Amparo Morales (1986, 2001)

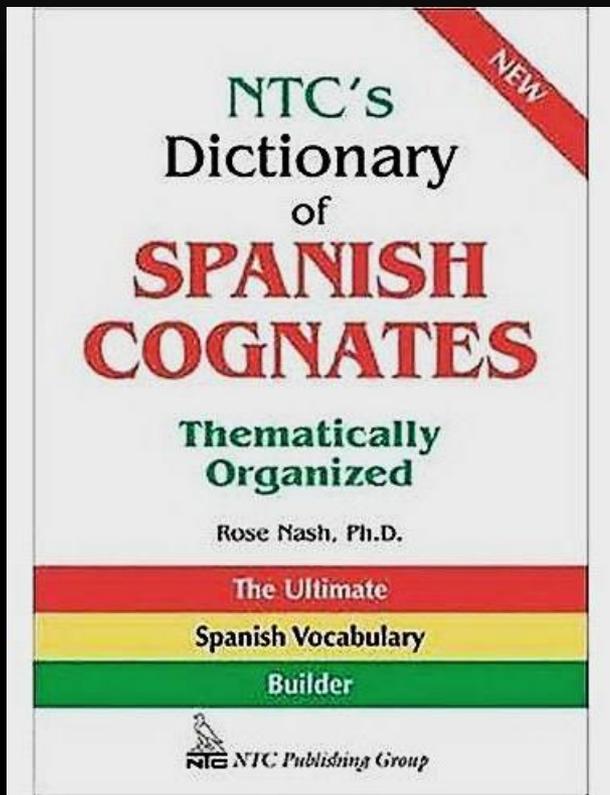
- Looked at use of present continuous verb *¿Qué estás haciendo?* [What are you doing?] instead of simple present: *¿Qué haces?*
- Is this due to the influence of English?



Morales' Conclusions:

- Syntactic influences low in frequency
- Found in other Hispanic speech communities
- Sometimes occur where little or no English influence can be documented
- May represent older forms of Spanish
- Not every variation in syntax is automatically due to English

DEVELOPMENT OF PR ENGLISH



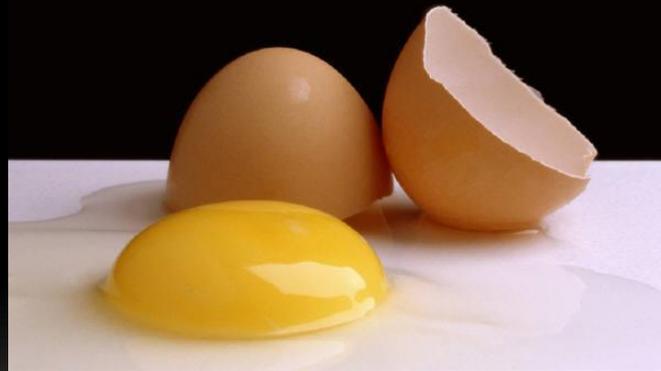
- Rose Nash (1971) coined the term *Englañol* to describe the English spoken by Puerto Ricans in PR.
- Englañol has false cognates used in a Spanish manner, loan translations, and spelling pronunciations.

Some examples of *Englañol* would be:

- My assistance [*asistencia* = attendance] in class is not very good this semester.
- You need to pass the vacuum (*pasar el vacuum* = vacuum) before Mom gets home.
- Let's separate [*separar* = reserve] that date for the meeting!

Phonological characteristics of PR English (Walsh 1994)

- /ð/ and /θ/ pronounced as [d] and [t] (*those three* comes out as *doze tree*).
- [j] pronounced as /dʒ/ (*yolks* becomes *jokes*)



- devoicing of /z/ to [s], pronouncing *his* as *hiss*
- merger of /tʃ/ with /ʃ/, pronouncing *watches* as *washes*



- shifting stress to the last element of compound nouns, pronouncing dishwasher as dishwasher or hamburger as hamburger.



SYNTACTIC CHARACTERISTICS OF PRE

Joan Fayer et al. (1998)

- Inverted word order: *They tell me how important is the bill for them.*
- New lexical creations based on English forms: *There are many urbanizations in Puerto Rico. [housing developments]*



- borrowings from Spanish: *I was stuck in the tapón.*



- hybrid compounds utilizing English and Spanish words: *Many people were arrested at the drug punto.*

ACCEPTABILITY OF PRE

Dayton & Blau (1999)

- Acceptability study carried out with 223 subjects
- UPR students in Basic, Intermediate, and Honors English classes, Puerto Rican English teachers, and native speakers of English residing in US.

- Task 1 entailed reading real sentences containing lexical items that were likely candidates for inclusion in PR English.
- Participants had to correct any sentences they felt needed correction.
- Included: *interpreted* (for “sang”), *domination* (for “command”), *approved* (for “passed”), *celebrated* (for “held”), etc.

- Task 2 was multiple choice questions in which target words were replaced by blanks.
- Interviews also held with island-raised English teacher, return migrant English teacher, and English native speaker



RESULTS

- Native English speakers accepted the least number of PRE items.
- As student proficiency increased, students accepted fewer PRE items; at Honors English level, students equaled teachers' scores for multiple choice task.



- Considerable difference between acceptability rates of PR English in two tasks by PR teachers (61% and 30%) vs. native speakers (28% and 3%).



CONCLUSIONS

- Given that English teachers are normative by nature and training, they would be expected to approach native speaker levels.
- Appears that they are aiming at Puerto Rican English, rather than U.S. standard English.



ATTITUDES TOWARD LANGUAGE CONTACT

Attitudes toward language contact phenomena (loanwords, loan shifts, and code switching) and the notion of Puerto Rican English are generally negative, especially on the part of teachers.

It is difficult to convince teachers about the inevitability of language variation, since they are entrusted with perpetuating standard language forms.





- Return migrant children in PR suffer the most from negative attitudes toward mixed varieties.
- They are criticized in the US because they don't speak standard English and criticized in PR because they don't speak standard Spanish.

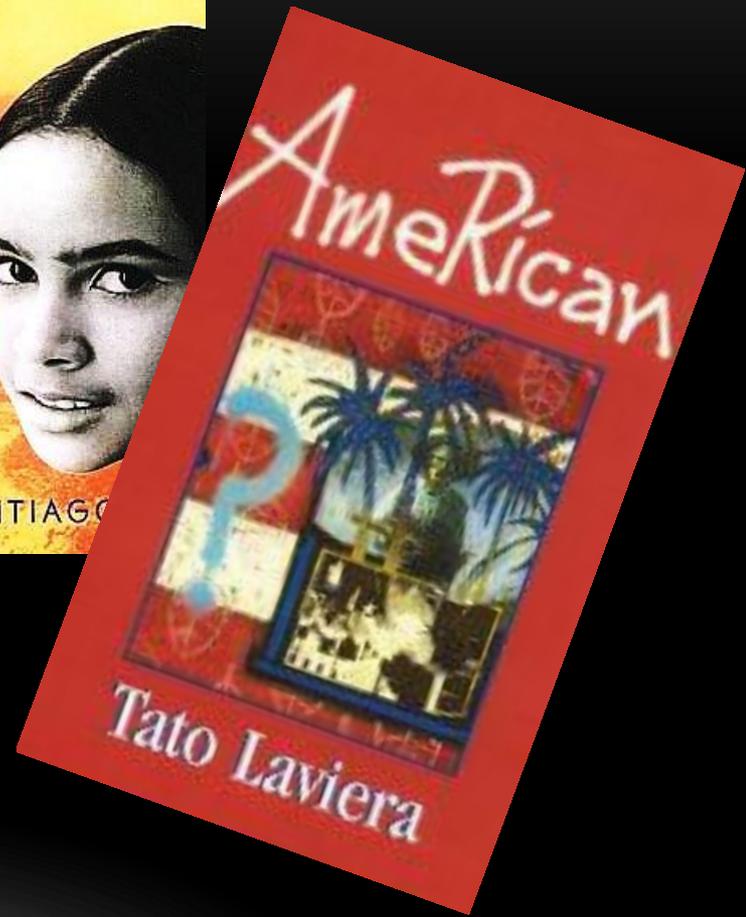
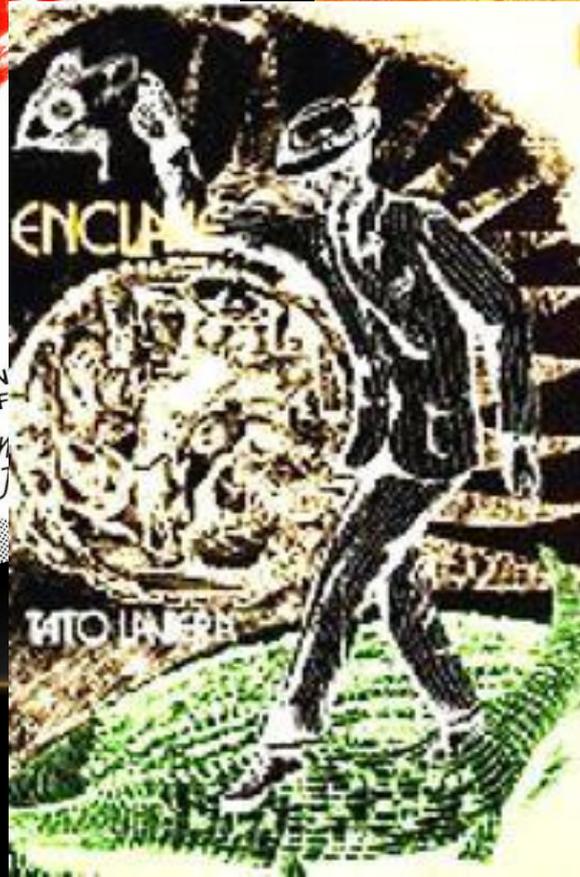
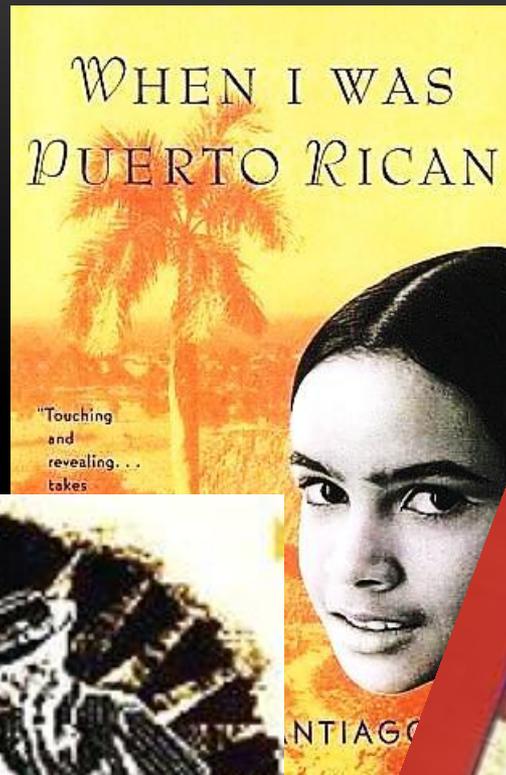
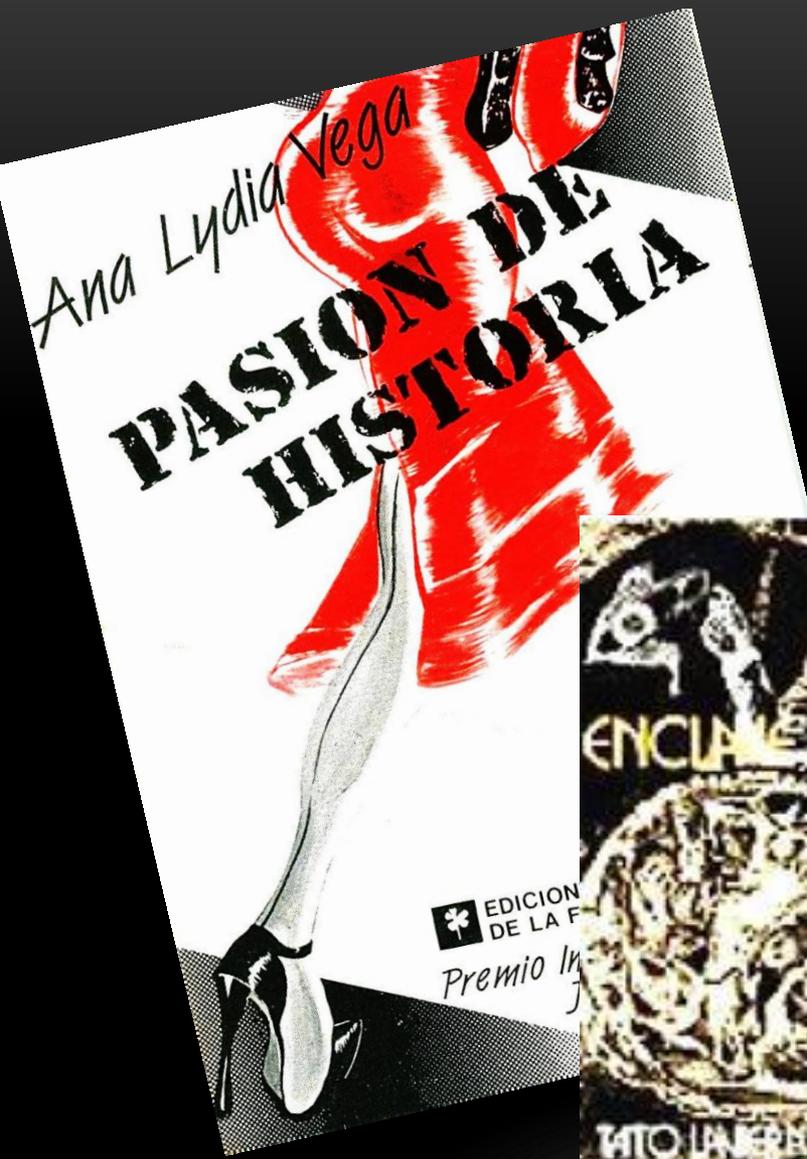
Puerto Rican identity

- This brings up the role of English in Puerto Rican identity.
- Marisol Pérez Casas (2008) found that code switching constitutes an integral part of the linguistic repertoire of a network of well-educated, Puerto Rican bilinguals who employ it habitually in informal group encounters.

- Their code switching style allows them to construct and rethink social identities such as: Puerto Rican, American, elite, and bicultural.
- They have reinterpreted what it means to be “Puerto Rican.”
- This is not just an aspect of interpersonal communication, but also part of a socio-historical change in progress that bears watching.

ATTITUDES AMONG WRITERS

Some Puerto Rican writers, both on the island and in the U.S., are utilizing language mixture for creative purposes in their writing.



canela browned in deep tan caribbean
sweet lips almost sabroso tasted by
a cariñoso sentiment, y buena que estás
en gusto affection that cries
out loud: qué chévere tú eres,
como canela brown warrior woman
diplomática with her terms.

**Excerpt from: “Velluda:
Alliterated y eslembao”
by Tato Laviera**



CONCLUSION

- English and Spanish in Puerto Rico exert cross-linguistic influences upon each other.
- The contact between English and Spanish brings up questions of identity that are troubling to many.

- Does speaking English on a regular basis constitute becoming less Puerto Rican?
- Can a person be Puerto Rican, live in Puerto Rico, and prefer English to Spanish? (a topic of hot online debate)

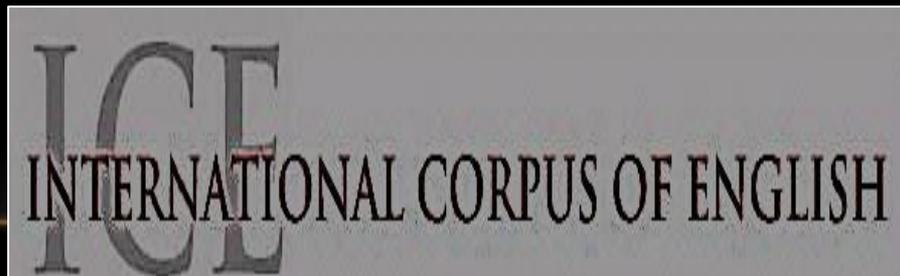
- Is a “patriotic accent” the appropriate response to pressures to culturally assimilate American ways along with English words?
- Are variations from American Standard English “errors,” or do they represent an emerging “new English”?
- What does the future hold for the Spanish language in Puerto Rico, given the growing global presence of English?

- The delineation of a distinctive variety known as Puerto Rican English is only beginning, and there is considerable opposition among teachers and laypeople to the idea.
- They consider that to talk of PRE is to admit defeat in the teaching of Standard American English.

- One way to cast the changes in a positive way is to stress the idea of “reinvention”.
- Rather than “failing” at learning the imposed Standard American English, Puerto Ricans are creating a new variety that incorporates elements from their Spanish vernacular and responds to the specific needs of their linguistic and cultural environment.

The greatest contribution that linguists and language teachers can make is to provide scientifically-verified findings regarding the changes occurring in both Puerto Rican Spanish and Puerto Rican English and contextualize them within world-wide linguistic trends.

- The International Corpus of English project is one way in which Puerto Rican English can be viewed in an international context.
- Recently, an ICE team from Germany visited Puerto Rico and collected data for comparison with other areas in which English is spoken.



This promises to bring to light some interesting results which may help people to understand what is happening with English on the island.

SOURCES CONSULTED

See handout.

THE END